

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY REGISTER.

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TO

MR. HUME.

*On the proposed Vote of Money  
to the East India Company.*

Kensington, 2 July 1822.

SIR,

I LONG ago observed that the question relating to the pretended Debt due to the East India Company would put to the test your sincerity with regard to a desire to ease this half broken-backed nation of its burdens. That question has now been before the House of Commons; and I am truly sorry to have to say that my anticipations have been but too fully verified.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, last night (the 1st of July,) brought forward this claim of the East India Company, with regard to which, he made the following strange and confused statement, agreeably to the report which I

find in the Morning Chronicle, and which I will first insert, word for word as I find it in that paper.

The next general head was the payments made by the East India House, and on this head he would give some explanation. Some years since certain claims were made by the East India Company on the Government relative to certain expenses, but especially for the maintenance of the St. Helena establishment for the custody of Buonaparte. Gentlemen would see by the papers on the table that the claims set up by the East India Company were 1,500,000*l.* which, if interest were allowed, would, on the established computation, amount to 5,000,000*l.* But to those claims there were a variety of objections raised, as the papers showed, by the Treasury. *Several of the claims were not thought justifiable*—some were absolutely rejected, and others were taken into consideration. On the other hand, the counter claim of the public against the Company was disputed by the Company; and the House must be aware that the arrangement ne-

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cessarily assumed the character of a negotiation between *independent States* (a laugh); for the Company were obliged to guard the interests of the proprietors, and the Treasury to preserve the economy of the public service. This being the state of the case, it was thought fit to *refer the matter to arbitration*; for if even the Treasury allowed the claims, it was considered likely that Parliament would not give the full credit to the Company's demand. It was thought the better way, therefore, to agree to a compromise on both sides, for a sum to be submitted to the decision of Parliament, rather than contend for the strict right, as it did not appear there was any competent tribunal by which such rights could be established. It was, therefore, thought fair and just, the Company should be allowed 1,300,000*l.* for their claim of five millions (a laugh). He was convinced that gentlemen, who took the trouble of reading the papers relative to this transaction, would see that the East India Company was not hardly dealt with, and indeed he had grounds to believe that the Company was satisfied; and he was of opinion, that on a fair review of the subject, it would give no less satisfaction to Parliament and the public. In the next place, he would consider the application of this sum, and here he thought it would be most satisfactory to the House to know that this sum was to be applied to the

reduction of the loan from the Company in 1812, as was provided by the 53 Geo. III. part of the provisions of which Act the Right Honourable Gentleman then read, in order to corroborate his statement. The alleged amount of the East India Company's debt to the public was 1,357,000*l.*; but it had been agreed that on the payment by the Company of 557,000*l.* they should in future be freed from all further claim upon them. It had been thought more convenient to the public service that the sum of 557,000*l.* so repaid by the East India Company should be placed to the account of the year. This arrangement, which relieved both the public and the Company from any further demands, if just in itself to both parties, as he flattered himself it would prove to be, must, he should conceive, be extremely satisfactory to the country at large. It was necessary, however, for him to observe, that of the 557,000*l.* which it was agreed should be thus paid by the East India Company as the liquidation of their debt to the public, 20,000*l.* had already been paid; so that only 530,000*l.* remained to be voted by Parliament towards the ways and means for raising the Supply.

When a party demands five millions of money, and takes thirteen hundred thousand pounds, we violently suspect him. His whole account appears very sus-

picious, and we are inclined to believe that it is an unjust demand from beginning to end. Yet, industrious and scrupulous as you have been as to other matters, you suffer this thirteen hundred thousand pounds to slide away without, as far as I have perceived, any attempt to unravel the strange proceeding.

Here has been an *arbitration*, it seems. We are not told who the arbitrators were, and yet that was a matter of great importance. Here were claims not thought justifiable by the Treasury; others worthy of consideration, others that the public had against the Company; and all this matter you suffer to be settled without even an attempt to let us know how the affair really stands. Last year the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the sum due to the East India Company to be *two millions*. You observed upon that occasion that *two millions and a half* were due; and, at last, the Company is to have 1,300,000*l.* from this loaded and beggared country; while that Company has its long list of pensioners and is carrying on a Government of its own, rivalling in extravagance that which you have long been so laudably endeavouring to keep in check.

As to a minute inquiry into the affairs of this East India Company as connected with the Government, the thing is impossible. There has been such confusion, and such a shameful neglect of all timely means of elucidation, that to go into particulars is impossible; I can, therefore, only lay before my readers a sort of general view of the manner in which the people of this country have been treated by the East India Company, and by the several Ministers since the Company obtained their charter in the year 1793.

In the year 1806 the country had been called upon and had paid to this East India Company two millions of money. At that time I called upon the country to look at the thing in its true light. And from the first of my Essays upon the subject I take the following passage: "To talk of the  
" oppressing, the insulting, and  
" the plundering of the Princes  
" of India cannot be expected to  
" have much effect amongst a  
" people, who made not a single  
" remonstrance upon the subject  
" of the capture of the Spanish  
" frigates, and the subsequent ap-  
" propriation of their treasure,  
" without a previous declaration  
" of war; but, as this same peo-  
" ple may possibly be alive to

“ the demands of money *from* “ well-informed. Now, however,  
 “ *themselves*, for the purposes of “ the demands upon the taxes  
 “ carrying on wars against the “ must, for the purposes of India,  
 “ Princes of Hindostan, informa- “ be such as will, I should ima-  
 “ tion must be given them upon “ gine, open men’s eyes, espe-  
 “ the subject of those demands ; “ cially if the Ministry make and  
 “ and, if this information be not “ promulgate an authentic state-  
 “ given, in the most clear and full “ ment of the nation’s affairs.  
 “ manner, by the new ministry, “ Thirteen years ago a charter,  
 “ they will be greatly wanting “ by the influence of Mr. Pitt  
 “ both to the country and them- “ and his colleague Dundas, was  
 “ selves. The people hear of “ granted to the East India Com-  
 “ great fortunes being made in “ pany, whereby were secured to  
 “ the East ; they hear of plunder “ the said company of merchants  
 “ enormous, and they see the “ certain rights of sovereignty in,  
 “ plunderers come and elbow “ and, with some exceptions, an  
 “ them from their homes ; but, “ exclusive trade with, those coun-  
 “ they never appear to perceive, “ tries in Asia which we, taking  
 “ that any part of this plunder is, “ them altogether, call the East  
 “ either first or last, drawn from “ Indies. As the foundation of  
 “ their own estates or their labour. “ their firm, or partnership, of  
 “ They seem to think, that there “ trade, this Company were allow-  
 “ are great quantities of goods “ ed by the charter, to create a  
 “ and of gold and precious stones “ quantity of Stock ; that is to  
 “ in India ; and, the only feeling “ say, to make loans, in the same  
 “ which the acquirers of these “ way that the Ministry do, and  
 “ excite, seems to be that of envy, “ to pay annually, or quarterly,  
 “ and, in some instances, of emu- “ in dividends, interest upon the  
 “ lation. But, that this proceeds “ amount of these loans. The  
 “ from a gross error would, in the “ Company became, in fact, a sort  
 “ two millions lately paid to the “ of under government, having its  
 “ East India Company out of the “ loans, its scrip, its debt, or,  
 “ taxes of the nation, have been “ more properly speaking, its  
 “ clearly demonstrated, had not “ funds, or still more properly,  
 “ our system of finance been “ its engagements to pay interest  
 “ such as to keep in darkness, “ to a number of individuals.—  
 “ upon this point, men otherwise “ The paper, of whatever form it

" may be, which entitles the holder  
 " to demand this interest, or these  
 " dividends, is called East India  
 " Stock, the principal of which  
 " has now been augmented to the  
 " sum of twelve millions sterling;  
 " and, the holders of this stock  
 " are called *East India proprie-*  
 " *tors*. The sources whence the  
 " means of regularly discharging  
 " the interest upon the stock were  
 " to be derived, were, of course,  
 " the profits of the trade which  
 " the Company should carry on,  
 " but, aided by the revenue which  
 " they were authorised to raise  
 " from their territory, the defence  
 " and government of which were,  
 " however, placed, in some sort,  
 " under the controul of the mo-  
 " ther government at Westmin-  
 " ster. Thus set out in the world  
 " this Company of Sovereigns, fur-  
 " nished, at once, with dominions,  
 " subjects, taxes, and a funded  
 " debt. But, supposing the mea-  
 " sure (which I do only by way of  
 " illustration) to have been, in  
 " other respects, just and politic,  
 " it certainly would have been  
 " neither, not to have bound  
 " these sovereigns to pay the  
 " nation something, or, more pro-  
 " perly speaking to contribute  
 " something towards the taxes,  
 " by way of consideration for the  
 " immense advantages to be de-

" rived from the exclusive trade  
 " of a country, while the nation  
 " might be called upon, as it has  
 " been, to defend it by a navy,  
 " and which must, at any rate,  
 " be defended on the land-board  
 " by troops drawn, in part at  
 " least, from the population of  
 " the Kingdom. It was, there-  
 " fore, provided, that the Com-  
 " pany, during the continuance  
 " of its charter, which was to  
 " be for twenty years (thirteen  
 " of which have nearly expired)  
 " should pay into the Exchequer  
 " 500,000*l.* sterling a-year, and  
 " that, upon all the money not  
 " so paid, an interest should  
 " arise and accumulate, at the  
 " rate of fifteen per centum.—  
 " Such were the principal en-  
 " gagements, on both sides, under  
 " which this Company started.  
 " The nation has fulfilled its en-  
 " gagements, and that, too, at an  
 " enormous expenditure both of  
 " men and of money; and, while  
 " the Company has been enjoying  
 " all the advantages of an exclu-  
 " sive trade, and all the receipts  
 " of a territorial revenue; while  
 " hundreds and thousands of per-  
 " sons, concerned in that trade,  
 " have amassed fortunes, so great  
 " as to overshadow and bear  
 " down, not only the clergy and  
 " the country gentlemen, but even



" the ancient nobility of the King-  
 " dom, not one penny (since the  
 " *first* year) has the Company  
 " ever paid into the Exchequer  
 " of the stipulated half million a  
 " year; and, what is still more  
 " glaringly unjust, and more  
 " galling to the burdened peo-  
 " ple, two millions of our taxes  
 " have already been granted to  
 " this Company, wherewith to  
 " pay the dividends upon their  
 " stock; and, such has been the  
 " management, and such is now  
 " the state, of the Company's af-  
 " fairs, that we need not be at  
 " all surprised if another million  
 " be called for from us, during  
 " the present Session of Parlia-  
 " ment. For the *causes* of this  
 " state of the Company's con-  
 " cerns; for the reasons why  
 " they have not been held to their  
 " engagements; why the Act of  
 " Parliament has thus been treat-  
 " ed as if it had been passed  
 " merely as a job; why we have  
 " been called to pay to, instead  
 " of to receive from, this Com-  
 " pany of trading sovereigns;  
 " let the eulogist of Mr. Pitt's  
 " memory, let Mr. Canning, Old  
 " Rose, and Colonel Patten; let  
 " Lord Melville, with his  
 " 2,000*l.* a-year pension from  
 " the Company (who are so poor  
 " as to come to us for money);

" let the Directors, those mana-  
 " gers of the Company's affairs,  
 " and those stanch advocates of  
 " the Minister that suffered the  
 " act to lie unenforced against  
 " them; let Lord Wellesley, who  
 " has so long been the Governor  
 " General of India: why the act  
 " has not been enforced, why the  
 " law has been thus shamefully  
 " set at nought, let these persons  
 " tell."

Now, let it be observed, this  
 charter expired without one single  
 farthing of the ten millions of  
 money, except the first half mil-  
 lion, ever having been paid into  
 the Exchequer. The Act of Par-  
 liament passed on the 11th of  
 July 1793 ordered that half a mil-  
 lion a-year should be paid into  
 the Exchequer to be disposed of as  
 Parliament should think proper;  
 that is to say, to be applied to the  
 service of the country. The Act  
 provided, that, in case of failure  
 to pay the half million into the  
 Exchequer, the money should be  
 recovered in damages in any court  
 of record in Westminster; that,  
 in case the Directors found it in-  
 convenient to pay the sum into  
 the Exchequer, the Directors  
 should represent the matter to the  
 Treasury, and that the Treasury  
 might agree to suspend the pay-

ment by making an order to that effect; but that (and pray mark this,) the Treasury should, in fourteen days after making such order, if Parliament should then be sitting, or otherwise, within fourteen sitting days of the then next sitting Parliament lay a copy of the said order and of the representation of the Court of Directors, *before both Houses of Parliament.*

Now during the whole of the twenty years that this Act remained in force, the money was paid into the Exchequer only the first year; and yet no copy of such order; no copy of such representation of the Directors *was ever laid before either House of Parliament*; and, of course the Act was violated in the most flagrant manner; the Company still owed the money, and though it might at any time have been sued for in the Courts at Westminster, it never has been paid to this day.

If war arose so as to disable the Company, the money was not to be made good, so as to impede the accumulation of a fund to pay the stockholders; but this was not to warrant the suspending of any payment into the Exchequer, without a representation of the Directors to the Treasury; with-

out an *order* of the Treasury, and without the laying copies of both these before the two Houses of Parliament; a thing that was never done during the whole twenty years that the charter lasted; that is to say, from the year 1793 to the year 1812, both inclusive. The Whigs came into office in 1806, and they winked at all these breaches of the law, they said not a word about the *seven millions* already due from the East India Company, and winked at the two millions, which during the first thirteen years of the charter had been given to that Company out of the taxes raised upon the labour of the people of these kingdoms.

At this time the Company owes the country, principal and interest, very nearly *thirty millions of money*. The reader will bear in mind, that the first half million became due in 1794. He will bear in mind that that is half a million of money going on at compound interest for eighteen years, and that the interest was *fifteen per cent*. I have only had time for a hasty calculation; but any figure-man will satisfy himself in a moment, that the Debt now due by the Company on account of that charter is now upwards of thirty millions of money; and

that Debt ought to be paid, too, or every stick and stone of these commercial sovereigns ought to be sold. What was the bargain made for; why was an Act of Parliament passed? Was it for the purpose of deluding and cheating the nation? And if it was not, why has nobody ever proposed to put the law in force?

When that charter was granted this set of merchants had great advantages given them at the expense of the nation. They were to have the exclusive trade to the East, and they had it. They were to have the territorial revenue of India. The nation was to be at the expense of fleets to defend them in their trade and possessions; and at the expense of boards and offices connected with India. The nation had to pay dearer for articles had from the East, on account of this charter. The ship-owners of this country were prevented from employing their ships in that trade. These were monstrous advantages to the Company of Merchants; far exceeding in value half a million a-year; and yet of the twenty half millions the nation never got but one!

But, besides this, the nation has had to *pay five millions*, I think it is, already, to this Com-

pany; and now it has to pay one million three hundred thousand pounds more; and not a word do you say, Sir, in the way of sifting into this matter. The two Lords of the Admiralty, the second Post Master General, and the other little chippings that have led to such endless debates and such piles of figures, have had great importance attached to them, while not a word is said about the enormous sums squandered upon this cormorant Company and its retainers, who have swallowed, within these thirty years, directly and indirectly, a hundred millions of that money which has already been wrung principally from the labouring classes of England, or has yet to be wrung from them, in payment of the interest of the National Debt.

You can see clearly enough, Sir, how the public money, expended in the way of patronage, in the Navy, Army, Ordnance and Tax-offices, works to keep on the burdens of the people, and deprive them of their freedom. You can see how patronage in the church, and how money bestowed on countless swarms of greedy, greasy, paddy-faced and unprincipled lawyers works to the destroying of the happiness



of the people; but you seem to be totally blind to the effects of the enormous patronage of India. You can see how public money bestowed upon a taxgatherer here induces him to support the system, but you cannot see that the same effect is produced upon a father here by money bestowed on a son in India. You do not recollect that Lawyer SPANKIE, who was also Editor of the Morning Chronicle, might have been filled with those qualms which he entertained about Reform in Parliament by the promises which he had of that rich post which he finally obtained in India. You cannot perceive, I'll warrant you, that the Morning Chronicle will strike at no India abuses as long as a son of the late Mr. PERRY is swelling up into wealth under the Company in India. You are not able to discover how it is that almost the whole swarm of your countrymen are held steady under the banners of the system by the taxes of England which they suck down through the channel of India. Mr. VANSITTART said, that the Company was to be negotiated with, as if an *independent State*. Our misfortune is, that it is not an independent state; but a perfect monster in politics; England supporting all

the expense of it, and the emigrating Scotch swallowing all the profits. Talk of the corruptions in Scotch Burghs, indeed, the Burghs would be of little consequence were it not for English taxes: the Burghs would be pure enough were it not for that Asiatic conductor through which the fruit of English labour is sucked down the throats of the Scotch. Thirteen hundred thousand pounds are now, in addition to all that is gone before, going down into that insatiable maw; and you say not one single word about the matter! You have sometimes talked of a Reform of the Parliament. Do you think that such a parliament would cause to be paid out of the taxes those immense sums every year, which are paid directly and indirectly to feed the hungry vultures that sail for India? The Americans, if we consider the cost of India to us, import every article from the East at about a fourth part of what those articles cost us. They bring them to Europe and sell them cheaper than they can be sold after being brought even by the East India Company. To what end, then, are we taxed for the support of this colony? I ask to what end we are thus taxed for

this purpose; and it is impossible for you to answer, except by acknowledging that it is for the purposes of that very patronage and very influence against which you have so often, and so justly inveighed, and to curtail which, you have made so many laudable exertions.

During the last war, our pretty gentlemen published the intercepted correspondence of Napoleon. It was not thought to be a very honourable proceeding, especially as some of his letters related solely to his private affairs and private feelings. Some years afterwards, the French intercepted a parcel of private letters from India, in which that wary Scot, Mr. *Stuart Hall*, made a very conspicuous figure, and in which *one of the Bentincks* very fully explained the real uses, the real practical purposes of our Empire in the East. The whole elucidation was comprised in one short phrase: *to get money!* Foolish people in this country *think that the money is got there*; and so it is; but it is only as my men get beer at the lower end of my garden, by carrying it or having it sent down to them from the house. The poor wretches in India are, indeed, slaves. They work for their masters; and we squeeze

those masters; but as to the money that is got; as to the several millions a-year, that formerly used to be brought home to build big white houses on the tops of hills, and the probably one million a-year that is now brought home for that purpose, and for the buying up of estates in England, be you assured that it has come from English taxes, the payment of which, in part, at least, requires the surrender of these estates. An additional thirteen hundred thousand pounds are now about to be applied to pass through the same funnel and for the same purposes, and you, the great hero of retrenchment and economy leave the stupid English landlords to hug themselves with joy at the thought of paying little more than a quarter part of what the East India Company demanded!

It is the most fallacious notion in the world, that, because the money is received *abroad*, we do not pay it. It may, with just as much sense, be said, that we do not pay that hopeful youth of the Grenvilles, *young Wynn*, because he *touches* the money in *Switzerland*. There is the *Honourable* Chas. W. Wyndham, who has, according to the Parliamentary Return of 1808, 4,000*l.* a-year as *Secretary and Clerk of the En-*

rolments in Jamaica; and, there is the *Honourable Percy Chas. Wyndham*, who has, according to the same Return, 7,000*l.* a-year as Register in Chancery in Jamaica. These blades are brothers, I believe, of the *Earl of Egremont*. They have had these places ever since 1763. So that they have received *Six hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds*, principal money from these places, without, I believe, ever having even seen poor Jamaica. Besides this, the *Honourable Percy Chas. Wyndham*, has, ever since 1763, been *Secretary and Clerk of the Courts in Barbadoes!* The income of this is *not stated* in the Return. It would, perhaps, go far towards making up the *round million!* However, here we have *confessed 649,000*l.** got from Jamaica. Well, say knaves, but *Jamaica* pays it. Yes; but, we are compelled to pay Jamaica back in the *price of our sugar*, and in *those expenses which the defence of Jamaica requires*, and which expenses all the colonies would gladly bear themselves, if gentry of this sort were not fastened upon them. The colonies bear, indeed, a part of the burden, but we at home here are the principal sufferers; and there is not a labouring man in England,

who does not help to pay these Wyndhams. You *hit hard*, Sir; but you do not often hit in the *right place*. You lay on upon the hips and shoulders and elbows, instead of touching them under the short ribs and behind the ear. Two good hits you have made: that at the "*Spiritual Persons*," who have *half-pay as military and naval officers*, whose half-pay is "*a retaining fee for future services*," while, at the same time, there is a law to prevent "*Spiritual Persons*" from ever being officers in army or navy. This was a good hit, but not followed up. The other was in the right place, and well laid in: I mean that at the Irish-Tithe gentry. A set of Resolutions stating the *number of seats* of a well-stocked Boroughmonger; then stating the several *good things* possessed by him and all his relations, with the *amount* of them separately; and, lastly, the *total amount*. These Resolutions would, perhaps, give way to the "*Order of the Day*;" but, only think of the effect "*out of doors!*" There could be no mistakes here: they could not trip you up upon errors of figures. The thing would lie in a nut-shell; and, whether *thin* house or *thick* house, the effect would be the same. At last *the*

*whole might be put together*; and we should then see, I believe, what has become of a great part, if not of the whole, of the money that makes that wonder of the world, and that envy of surrounding nations, called *the National Debt*! But, you can do nothing effectual if you blink India.

There was a Sir *Timothy Metcalfe* some years ago, who defended the East India Company by saying that it was a great benefactor to the nation in *giving it* so many millions a-year in the *duty on tea*. Posterity may judge of the pass to which we were come, when this could be listened to in the House of Commons without absolutely earning the orator a kicking. It did, however, not earn him any such thing; and there was not found in the House the man with a sufficiency of sense and of spirit to remind the impudent babbler that these several millions a-year were paid by the people of this country themselves. We were then in the heyday of glory and paper-money. Loan upon loan marked the progress. The foolish landlords thought there never would be an end to their prosperity; and they seemed to care not a straw about the sufferings of the labouring classes,

whose happiness they sacrifice without remorse to glut the maws of the Indian devourers.

What, I wonder, would the American people say, if they had to pay a tax in order to be given to their Merchants who trade to India. India is full as beneficial to their commerce as it is to ours. They rival us in the trade. Their navigation derives more benefit from it than ours does. Yet they have no "Honourable East India Company;" and the Congress would as soon think of passing an act or a vote, to cause themselves to be hanged, as they would think of levying a tax to raise money to be given to Merchants. What sense, then, can there be in our going on in this manner? What sense in throwing away millions in order to narrow the limits of our trade? Why keep up this voracious Company? To restrain other nations would be natural enough; but why restrain a part of ourselves? Why give a monopoly to one part of the traders? If the public Treasury received payment for the monopoly, that might be something. There might then be room for dispute about the matter; but why give a part of the traders of the nation a monopoly, and then raise taxes

upon the nation to pay them for that monopoly. If the goings on in India; if the proceedings in that country; if that treatment of the inoffensive natives which has given us such a character throughout the world and which has furnished the French with so many a sarcastic observation on our "*humanity*" with regard to the Negroes; if this yielded us *profit*, there would be something to say for it; very little, to be sure; but there would be something: as it is, there is nothing, except it be that we commit these dreadful deeds because we like them so well, that rather than not commit them, we will give up the fruit of our labour to support us in the commission.

The nation, however, knows little or nothing of the matter. It hears talk of the *riches of India*, as it hears talk of the riches of Peru and Mexico, little thinking all the while, that it is its own earnings that make the adventurers shine, and that it is a full participator in the misery which it causes those adventurers to inflict on the unoffending inhabitants of Asia. This branch of the system, however, growing on along with the rest, has, at last, attained nearly the utmost extent of its

dimensions. The system of borrowing has come to an end. The resources are fast drying up; and all the parts of the system are fast getting into the state of the members unfed from the circulation proceeding from the belly. We are hastening into that state so prophetically described by the ABBE' REYNAL, who, I remember, most emphatically dwelt upon the final effects of our system in India.

Upon the face of the thing it is monstrous to hold any colony that requires taxation levied upon the mother country itself to be given to the owners of that colony; yet millions upon millions have been voted in this way. The concern is, therefore, manifestly an affair of *patronage*, and nothing more; and if the thirteen hundred thousand pounds now to be voted, were to be directly distributed here in London, for the purposes of influence in support of the present system, it could not answer that purpose more effectually than it now will.

As to the figure that the thing now makes before the public, what do we need more than the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself to know, that, at the very least, a most minute and strict inquiry by the



House of Commons, ought to have taken place before a farthing of this money were voted? He begins by telling us that the East India Company had *demand*ed five millions, and that they had agreed to take thirteen hundred thousand pounds? What should we think of a tradesman who suffered his Bill to be pared down in this way? The Chancellor tells us that there has been a negotiation, as with an *independent state*! For what, then, are these *Boards of Controul*? For what are all these offices and officers? For what? Why for patronage, to be sure; and so is the whole thing from the beginning to the end.

But will the Parliament, under all these suspicious circumstances, vote this sum of money *without inquiry*? An *arbitration* has been sitting. But who was the arbitrator, by whom appointed, or how chosen? Would such a story satisfy the Chief Justice, as a ground for judgment in his Court, were the case of a sum of ten pounds? Will the Parliament pass this vote without solemn investigation? And will you suffer such vote to pass without as great a struggle at least, as you have in many cases laudably made with a view of preventing the squandering of five hundred pounds?

With this question I close my letter, not without feeling as strongly as any man in the country for the efforts that you have made in our behalf; but I cannot close it without adding that I never can admire the straining at a gnat and the swallowing of a camel.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and

Most humble Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE  
MONEY - HOARDERS.

Kensington, 3 July, 1822.

MY FRIENDS,

SINCE the date of my last Letter, the *Small Note Bill* has passed through a second reading. There was nothing that they call a debate about it; but there were some pithy remarks on the part of Mr. JAMES; which, together with my comments as published in the Statesman of this day, you will by - and - by see. But, before I come to that matter, pray let me

have your attention to what was said on the subject of the Debt in the Lower House of the Collective, on the 1st of July, when Mr. VANSITTART brought forward the thing very properly denominated the *Budget*.

The principal object of my last Letter was to convince you, that, with regard to the currency and the funds, every thing was in a state of the greatest *uncertainty*. It is an ancient maxim in legislation, that, *miserable are those who live under uncertain laws*. Miserable, indeed, are those who live under laws which are uncertain with regard to the *money* of the country in which they live. Without money there is, in fact, no property. Money, is, at last, the measure of the value of every thing; and if you render that a thing of uncertainty there is no certainty in any thing. Famine may come and supplant abundance; and, as we now see, in the case of Ireland, industry, fertile soil, happy seasons, all are useless if the value of money be uncer-

tain, there being not the least doubt in the mind of any rational man that the dreadful evils, described in another part of this Register, are all to be ascribed to the shifting and changing in the value of money.

I before described to you the great *uncertainty*, in which we now are in this respect. What I am now going to lay before you will most amply confirm that description. The bringing forward of the budget gave occasion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to inform the House, that the Bank (I mean the Borough Bank,) had resolved to discount at *four per cent.*; and the little gentleman said that this would tend to *relieve* the country. He took occasion at the same time to observe, that this measure was a very proper and natural one, and had been adopted in consequence of the resolution of Parliament to uphold public credit; and just upon the heels of that he brought out these words, "Some persons advised a forced operation to reduce fur-

"*ther* the interest of the Debt.  
 "To that, however, he could not  
 "give his consent, as it appeared  
 "to him to be contrary to all the  
 "rules of a wise political eco-  
 "nomy."

You will remark here on the *word* operation. This pretty gentleman is a great man for operations! You will remark also on the word *forced*; and on the word *further*; so that, you see, either he regards his operation relative to the five per cents. as a reduction of the interest of the Debt, or he regards this discounting at four per cent. by the Bank as being a measure, which is, as a matter of course, to lead to a reduction of all the interest of the Debt from five per cent. to four per cent.

Very well, stick a pin there, then, so far, so good. But you have now to hear these broken sentences; these half-uttered intentions, more fully and broadly stated by JOHN SMITH. And before we go any further we must observe who this JOHN SMITH is.

He is one of the brothers of that SMITH of Nottingham, who was a banker, or stocking manufacturer, or both, in Nottingham about thirty years ago. This SMITH was made a *lord* during the time of Pitt, and is now called Lord CARRINGTON. For what reason, God above knows, for I am sure I do not. However, he is a large *proprietor* of certain precious things; and he has several brothers in the House of Commons, and one son, I believe. One of these brothers is the identical JOHN SMITH, whose speech I am about to lay before you, and who is one of the bankers in, I believe, the greatest shop of that sort in London, excepting that of the Borough Bank itself.

Now, then, you will please further to observe, that, when the Kentish Petition praying for a *just reduction of the National Debt*, was before the House, this very Mr. SMITH fell upon it in the most violent manner. He called it atrocious; said he was himself a Freeholder of Kent, and

that he was *ashamed* of the conduct of his brother freeholders. In short, every thing that man could say, in a short speech, was said by him, against the prayer for a just reduction of the interest of the Debt.

Let us now see what this same man said on the first of July, carrying along in our minds what was said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer before: his words were these, as I find them reported in the *Morning Chronicle*.

"Mr. J. SMITH said, he was  
 " *most friendly to the principle of*  
 " *reducing the interest paid to*  
 " *the public creditor.* There were  
 " *two ways* of effecting that ob-  
 " ject; one was a *fraudulent*  
 " way, a way which would lead  
 " to the *ruin of the country*, to  
 " the destruction of its *institu-*  
 " *tions*, and in particular to the  
 " *speedy destruction of the land-*  
 " *ed interest* [hear, hear, hear!].  
 " The other means was by rais-  
 " ing the funds to induce the pub-  
 " lic creditor to take something  
 " less in the way of interest. If

" the peace were, as he hoped it  
 " would, to continue—if economy  
 " were strictly practised, he hop-  
 " ed to see the 4½ per cent. re-  
 " duced to 4; and the 4's and 3½  
 " reduced to 3. Such an arrange-  
 " ment would effect an important  
 " saving to the public, and that  
 " ought to be the great object  
 " which Parliament should have  
 " in view."

Pray look well at the words:  
 You that have sold out of the  
 funds and got your money safe,  
 look well at the words, and con-  
 sider well whom they come from.  
 Let those who have not yet sold  
 out of the funds pay still more  
 attention to these words, and  
 recollect from whom they come;  
 and also recollect that they are  
 an explanation to the dark hints  
 thrown out by the Chancellor of  
 the Exchequer. It is, I hope,  
 pretty clear to you what the in-  
 tention is, but I must, neverthe-  
 less, offer you a few remarks  
 upon it.

You see that this man, though  
 he so roughly treated the people  
 B

of Kent for manfully proposing a just reduction of the interest of the Debt, is, himself, "*most friendly*" to the *principle of reduction of the interest of the Debt*. He does not say a *just* reduction; but he is not for what he calls a *fraudulent* reduction; but, as I shall presently show you, the way that he proposes would be both unjust and fraudulent.

The scheme is to *raise the funds*, as he calls it; that is to say, by one trick and another, to get the funds up to a high nominal price. And what then? Why, then, "to *induce* the public creditor to take something "less in the way of interest." Now, mark this word *induce*. How are the fundholders to be induced to take less than five per cent.? How are they to be induced to let their stock be reduced to a lower denomination? Why by getting the *great ones*, as I once before observed, to combine and give their assent; or, which is much more likely, to

proclaim, as in the case of the five per cents., but without a particle of law to show for it; to proclaim the intention of the government to reduce the stock, and to put the question to them in the way of *dissent* instead of *assent*; and then pass a law to bind them to this compulsory bargain.

This is the inducing scheme. It would fail of the great object; that is to say, it would not save the landlords estates. I have no doubt, that, if once begun, it would by no means stop at taking off a half per cent. of the interest, as this Smith proposes; I have no doubt that it would go on till it did not leave a half per cent.; but it could never go on quietly to this length. There would be a hubbub and a blowing up long before it came to two per cent.

But pray mark the *injustice* of the scheme. For, according to this scheme, there would be no discrimination. All the *Widows' funds* all over the country; all



the *Friendly Societies*; all the *Savings' Banks* people; all the ignorant and deluded creatures that have placed their collections, their only security against poverty in old age; all these who have placed their money in the funds, as it is called, all the property placed in the funds by the compulsory decrees of the Court of Chancery; all these parties, who cannot, if they would, put themselves in a state of security, would be thus robbed, stripped of their last farthing under the name of inducement!

The men of Kent prayed for a just reduction of the National Debt, and this SMITH called it *fraudulent*. *Fraudulent* means something done *slily*; something done under *false pretences*; something that has deception in it. Which was fraudulent, then; the proposition, the open, distinct, proposition of the men of Kent; or the scheme which we have here laid before us? It is useless to press this point any further. The

case is so plain that every one must see the bottom of it.

As to the feasibility of the scheme, though I am aware that nothing is equal in stupidity to a besotted fundholder; though I am aware that the wretch will believe in almost anything rather than give up his notion of infallibility in the funds; though I am aware that the base and unnatural monster will almost cut your throat for endeavouring to awaken him to a sense of his danger; still it does seem impossible that the crawling creature should not see at the next touch, or the touch after, that he is in danger of wanting a bit of bread, unless he in time rescues himself from the peril. It does seem impossible that any person should suffer their only means of existence to remain in such a state; and, therefore, the scheme, one would think, must necessarily fail, by the whole thing going to peices, at the first or second of those touches that this SMITH recommends.

If there be (a thing of which I

very much doubt) any good man or woman who is a fundholder, by their own free will, let such person consider in time, what must be the effect of the *inducements*, the prospect of which gives such joy to this SMITH. Let such person reflect on the probable worth of the stock after the next touch; and, if there be children to provide for, what must the person having the care of those children be, if he or she suffer them to be exposed to the consequence of even the first of these touches? However, children must abide by the fate prepared for them by parents, guardians, and trustees. "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge;" by which observation the Scripture would warn us, that it is reasonable that the children of the foolish or wicked parents, should, from natural causes, suffer on account of that folly or wickedness. It would be the extreme of injustice if a law were made to make the children of the wise and the virtuous par-

ticipate in the sorrows of the children of the foolish and the profligate. One of the strongest inducements to care and virtuous conduct in parents is, the reflection that they lead to the security and happiness of their children. Any law, therefore, that would compel the whole community to contribute towards putting the children of the foolish and the wicked upon the same footing as those of the wise and the virtuous would be a law against the order of nature, and against every principle of justice.

Let those parents, guardians, and trustees, who wilfully expose children to the peril, bear this in mind; and let them remember, that they, and they only, are responsible for all the consequences. As to such as are of full age and full power to act for themselves, to no pity will they be entitled. They can now at any moment put themselves in a state of security; and even those who are restrained by trustees, can *sell out their interest in the*

thing ; so that these *touches*, recommended by SMITH, come when they may, will leave all this description of persons precisely in the state in which they ought to be left.

My friends, there was an IF in SMITH's speech ; and an IF of very great importance. Nay, there were two IFS, but we will take the first IF, in the first place. " If *peace* were, as he hoped it would, to *continue* ;" what does he mean ? To continue *for ever* ? What a Statesman ! What a SMITH CARRINGTON ! Aye ; then if it were *not to continue* ! What would happen then ? So that, here we are, proclaiming to the whole world ; to most insatiable rivals, and most bitter enemies, because we have loaded those enemies with intolerable insult ; here we are, having sanctioned the stripping of the Paris Museums, and having voted money to build Waterloo monuments ; here we are, hated by almost the whole

world, from one cause or another ; with a most anxious desire in America and France to pull us down ; here we are, proclaiming to those nations, that continued peace or total ruin is our inevitable lot ! Well done, JOHN SMITH ! After this, the men of Kent, may, perhaps, be able to console themselves for that shame which you expressed at their conduct, in openly and manfully calling for a just reduction of the interest of the Debt.

The other IF was " if *economy* were *strictly* practised." What does he mean ? Does he mean to discharge the army, dismantle the navy, and so forth ? If all this be done ; if there be not a soldier or sailor left ; even that would not preserve the landed estates, unless the interest of the Debt were brought down to less than twenty millions a-year. Sixteen millions a-year was all the country had to pay before the days of paper-money ; and more than that it cannot pay in a gold

currency, without a transfer more or less of the estates of the present landlords.

So that, you see, my Friends, the thing is in that state out of which it is never to be brought by any of those miserable measures, which Mr. VANSITTART calls *operations*. It is in that state from which nothing on earth can rescue it. There must be a general adjustment amongst all the parties. Fundholders, Landlords, all must make mutual sacrifices; and this is not to be effected without a Reform of the Parliament. If a refusal of that just and necessary measure be persisted in, there is no human remedy. We are in the hands of God and must wait patiently to see the manner in which he will dispose of us. In the meanwhile the man must be little short of a brute who does not, if he can, *secure some pieces of gold*.

This brings me to those remarks, which I referred you to, in the outset of my letter, on the second reading of the law that is

now passing for the making of *small paper-money*, which remarks I shall now insert, without further preface, and shall add nothing to them, seeing that they so plainly speak for themselves. Get gold while you can, and I remain,

Your Friend, and

Most obedient Servant,

WM. COBBETT.

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#### REMARKS,

*On the Debate on the small Note Bill, in the House of Commons, on the 2d July 1822.*

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SMALL-NOTE BILL!—Here we come. The words are fair, the subject great, the thing done, almost secretly; and there we must watch as pussy watches for her prey. The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved the second reading of the small-notes Bill. Mr. HUME asked for some explanations. The reporters say, "We could not collect the answer of the Right Hon. Gentleman; but it appeared to satisfy Mr. HUME and Mr. RICARDO"—Mr. JAMES wished to know *whether bank-notes were to be made a legal tender after*

May 1823? This was the home question; and now mind the answer. The worthy CHANCELLOR replied, "That every man was liable after that period, to pay his just debts in the current coin of the realm." Now what does this mean? If I hold a one-pound rag of a country rag-man, that is a just debt due from him to me, and is the ragman to be called upon to pay me in gold? *Nous verrons!* Though that phrase, which only means we shall see, was once so displeasing to Mr. HILY HUTCHINSON. Lord FOLKESTONE objected to the Bill, because it would bring back the forgeries and the hangings. Mr. HART DAVIS supported the Bill, because the currency was not abundant, and because the present measure would make it more abundant without interfering with the other enactments respecting the currency. How so, Mr. DAVIS? We take upon ourselves to assure you, that if there be no legal tender clause, the currency cannot become more abundant than it is, but on the contrary, will be a great deal less abundant after May 1823. Nothing will be done without legal tender; and legal tender is a repeal of PEEL's Bill, in part. Mr. JAMES said, that as the people were to have the option of demanding gold or paper, they deserve whatever might happen if they did not demand the gold; but, nevertheless, he was still opposed to the

principle of the Bill. Mr. PASCOE GRENFELL had understood, when the Bill was introduced, that the country-bankers were to have the option of paying in Sovereigns, or in Bank of England Notes; he did not see any provision in the Bill to that effect; and if not introduced by the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, he himself should introduce such a clause! Ah, PASCOE, sayest thou so, PASCOE? What, then, thou art determined that we shall have that *Feast of the Gridiron*, to which, whenever we hold it, thou shalt certainly have an invitation. This is legal tender; mark that. It is legal tender of Borough bank-notes after the month of May 1823; and that is a part repeal of PEEL's Bill. Mr. JAMES was so decidedly hostile to the principle of the Bill, which appeared to be the first step in the road back of the mischievous paper-money, that he was determined to divide the House upon it. Mr. CURWEN trusted his honourable friend (Mr. JAMES) would not divide the House. He said, "the country stood in need of the measure, and in the country they preferred the small-notes of country bankers to any other species of currency!" Indeed, Mr. CURWEN, why then does Mr. PASCOE GRENFELL propose to compel the people to take the country bank-notes instead of the gold, that is to say, if the country-bankers themselves choose to compel them? And how



is it, we pray you, Mr. CURWEN, that the country-bankers will not now pay in gold? And how is it that Scotch bankers will not give gold for their own notes, though to our certain knowledge, some of them have been offered a *premium* for so doing? Mr. CURWEN, pray attend to us for a single moment. To pass this bill without a legal tender of any sort, is a violation of PEEL'S Bill; or at least a departure from it; but without the legal tender, it is just as useless in producing an addition to the quantity of currency in the country as your telling the Agricultural Committee and as their publishing in the Appendix to their Report laid before Parliament, that you the year before grew two and thirty tons an acre upon four acres of Swedish turnips; just as useless, we say, is this Bill of the Chancellor in producing an increase of currency, as your Swedish turnip story was in producing a conviction of the existence of agricultural distress.

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#### FAMINE IN IRELAND.

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THE following article is taken from the Statesman of Saturday last. It contains matter so incredible, so shocking as to the facts, so every way worthy of being re-

membered, that I cannot refrain from giving it a place in the Register. I beg the reader to bear in mind that these terrible things never could have existed, if there had been in Ireland that system of Poor Laws, which so many ignorant and unfeeling men are endeavouring to undermine and destroy. One would think that these men would now hang their heads with shame; but they are as impudent as they are ignorant and unfeeling. If the Poor Laws were in existence in Ireland, we should have seen the absurdity of subscriptions, and balls and playhouse exhibitions to relieve a starving people. The people never could have been in a starving state, indeed. There *must* have been enough food left for those who raised all the food. The Overseers would have gone with the law in their hand, and demanded subsistence for the labourer before the corn was sent away to pay rent and tithe. What! Has not the earth yielded sufficiency for those who till it? Yes; for during the whole time of this famine it has been pouring its thousands upon thousands of quarters of corn into the English markets. When some of the persons belonging to Scotland applied for grants of public money

to relieve the famishing people there in 1819, Lord LIVERPOOL answered, and very justly : " No, " make Poor Laws, such as we " have in England, we will not " tax the English to keep your " poor." The Morning Chronicle should bear this in mind, when it is railing against the Poor Laws of England.—I do not say, however, that a similar answer ought to be given in a case of extremes as that of Ireland. For such a case, I would not, if I had been the Minister, wait for the passing of a law. I would have employed the *troops* to collect provisions in any part of Ireland where they were to be found.—However, this is an evil not to be cured by any means like those that have been adopted; and if other means be not employed, dreadful must be the consequences; but such is our state, that I do not think it safe to mention the measures which I think ought to be adopted; though they may be just in themselves, and agreeable to every principle of the settled laws of the land.—Almost every morning, soon after sunrise, I see groups of these poor ragged, emaciated creatures of Irish, passing through Kensington into London. I am told that they come from Bristol, and that they are sent back again

soon after their arrival. This morning early I saw a wagon load outward bound, men, women, and children; much more than half naked, and exhibiting a scene certainly much more deplorable than Negroes at a mart; for they have, at any rate, a sufficiency of food. How long this will continue; how long this state of things can possibly endure, I pretend not to say; but I can discover no reason for its ceasing or for its being mitigated, unless a radical change of the system take place. It does really seem that men with minds wholly different even in their formation from those of the men at present in power, are necessary to put to rights the affairs of this nation. I shall now insert the article before alluded to.

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PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS. — (Thursday, 27th July)—Want of room compelled us to break off yesterday without noticing what was said upon the subject of the famine in Ireland. To know that there are any part of the people of this kingdom in a state of want of a *sufficiency* of food, is calculated to call forth, in the first place, compassion for the sufferers, and in the next place, a frank declaration of our

opinions, if it were safe to declare them, towards those who have had the uncontrolled management of the affairs of the nation, and who have long been drawing sixty millions of pounds sterling a-year from it in taxes. No language could furnish us with words adequate to the expression of what we ought to feel, if even a short allowance of food was all that could be obtained by so large a portion of the people as make up the population of three or four counties of Ireland. Of what description, then, ought our feelings to be when Sir JOHN NEWPORT, standing up in his place in the House of Commons, states as a positive and undeniable fact, not loosely and generally, that famine is raging in Ireland, but that, in one parish *fifteen persons had actually perished by famine*; that twenty-eight more persons were past all hopes of recovery; that one hundred and twenty persons, still in the same parish, were ill from fever produced by want; that other parishes were nearly in the same state; that in one parish there had been found food only for two days, and, at the date of the letter, they had been without food three days; and that, horrible to relate! in this parish the Catholic parish priest had actually prepared his parishioners for their inevitable death, by absolution and those other rites used by the Catholics to persons just

going to die!—We are fully convinced that a tale like this was never told before in the civilized world. And, at this very moment the measures of the ministry for the relief of Agriculture in England are bottomed upon the assertion made a hundred times over, that, for a series of years, up to the present time inclusive, the crops have been *superabundant*; and that we are suffering the evil of over-production, and that the remedy for the farmer is, a diminished quantity in the harvest. Oh! unhappy Kingdom! Whose people are dying with famine amidst a superabundance of food! —Mr. GOULBURN, who has lately had a large pension settled upon him in case he should be out of office, and who is now what they call Chief Secretary of Ireland: this Mr. GOULBURN said that, with every exertion on the part of Government; - - - - but we must take his words; for this is a subject of too much importance to be passed over slightly and to be easily forgotten.

“ Mr. GOULBURN acquitted  
 “ the Right Honourable Baronet  
 “ of any but the purest motives,  
 “ and assured him that he felt as  
 “ deeply as the Right Honourable  
 “ Baronet, or any Gentleman, the  
 “ awful calamity: the more so,  
 “ because with every exertion on  
 “ the part of the Government, and  
 “ *with all the aid of man much misery*

" must take place. He alluded par-  
 " ticularly to those parts of the  
 " country in which from the state  
 " of communication, the convey-  
 " ance of provisions was a matter  
 " of time and difficulty. He had  
 " that day received accounts to a  
 " degree confirmatory of the asser-  
 " tions of the Right Honourable  
 " Baronet, as to the extent of  
 " the suffering, especially in the  
 " county of Galway. Some time  
 " since the accounts from that  
 " county were so alarming that  
 " though he knew the Lord Lieu-  
 " tenant was in communication  
 " with the gentry there, he had  
 " thought fit to ship to two ports  
 " of Galway, cargoes of the most  
 " portable species of provision,  
 " naval biscuit. In consequence  
 " of the intelligence he had re-  
 " ceived that day, he had directed  
 " further shipments (hear!): and  
 " though all efforts *might be insuf-*  
 " *ficient to avoid the calamity, they*  
 " *might have the satisfaction of*  
 " *having done all that was in their*  
 " *power.* In addition to what was  
 " done on this side of the water,  
 " the Lord Lieutenant had now  
 " the additional sum of 100,000*l.*  
 " which according to the terms of  
 " the vote, was granted for the *em-*  
 " *ployment of the poor,* but which,  
 " where there were no means  
 " of employing them, would be  
 " applied to their immediate re-  
 " lief. *The engineer who directed*  
 " *the works to be undertaken, had*

" also a discretion to act upon the  
 " instant, without reference to any  
 " authority, that no delay might  
 " interfere with the efficacy of the  
 " relief (hear!).”

This is very pretty talk; but  
 though no power on earth can  
 bring the dead to life, Mr. GOUL-  
 BURN will find it very hard to per-  
 suade us, that the same power  
 which can shut people up in their  
 houses from sunset to sunrise is  
 not equal to the discovering of the  
 approaching starvation of that  
 same people. He will find it very  
 hard to persuade us that those  
 who possess the former power did  
 not possess the latter, and still  
 more difficult will he find it to per-  
 suade us that those who could  
 raise a surplus of five millions a-  
 year as a Sinking Fund to add to  
 the stock of the fundholders, had  
 not the power to provide the means  
 of preventing the starvation of  
 those, whose situation they must  
 have known so well, when they had  
 the power to watch them so nar-  
 rowly as to shut them up in their  
 houses from sunset to sunrise.—  
 As to the *giving employment* to these  
 poor creatures; as to the laying  
 out of taxes upon public works  
 under an engineer in order to con-  
 vey money to the starving crea-  
 tures to purchase them food, was  
 there ever such a thing heard of  
 before since man was man? How  
 are the people to labour without  
 the strength to labour? How are

they to have the strength without first having the food? And then again, why not give them the money and let them employ the labour upon the land; why, when they are in a state of famishing for want of food, erect *public works* out of which no food can come; why draw away the food that is to be got with the money and employ it in a way from which no creation of new food can proceed? Vain, however, is it to put questions like these to those who have the support of an unreformed Parliament.—Mr. VESEY FITZGERALD, who called Mr. GOULBURN his Right Hon. Friend, vouched for the fact, stated by Sir JOHN NEWPORT, of the preparation for death by the Catholic priests. He eulogised the *patience* with which the famished creatures had borne their sufferings; and he was *loudly cheered!* We know not well what to say on the subject of this *patience*, and shall therefore hold our tongues. This gentleman related that an aged clergyman having received a donation for the famishing people, he was afraid to attempt the distribution lest his frame should be unable to sustain the pressure of the raving applicants. He, therefore, “moored a boat at some distance from the shore, whence he sent the tickets for provisions from the store; but such was the earnestness of the unfortunate claimants, that those who were

“strong enough to bear the buffeting of the waves, swam off to the boat, clinging to it till he delivered them the tickets for the relief of their families.—(Hear, hear.)”—Such is the picture which the Irish Members themselves give of the state of their country. In such a case all laws and usages ought to give way; all maxims of policy; all rules; all general principles. Ships, boats, vessels of every description ought to be sent off, and from every port. If money were wanted there are troops, and they should be sent to seize the food wherever it is to be found until the shocking scene be put an end to. If we had been Ministers, we would long ago have ascertained the facts, and bacon should have been a crown a pound in London before a Catholic priest in Ireland should have been called upon to prepare his parishioners for death from starvation. But what a horrible reflection that the people of only *two or three counties* in Ireland should be suffered to be in this state. If Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and Monmouthshire were even approaching such a state, would Kent or Norfolk, or in short, any other county, enjoy, we will not say a moment's happiness, but a moment's peace, until the distressed counties were as well off as themselves? Where are all the other counties in Ireland? What are they at? Where



are all the landlords and all the clergy of that country? Are we told that the Catholic priests are preparing whole parishes for death, and do we see amongst the means of relief a Ball at the Opera House in London! One thing it is necessary always to bear in mind; and that is, that Ireland has not been governed by jacobins and radicals. Let what may have been the cause of these calamities, we, the jacobins and radicals, have had no hand in producing them, to which we have only to add, show us, *loyal* men, if you can, that jacobins and radicals could have produced a worse state of things. Mr. WILBERFORCE said, that whatever money was wanted on this occasion, ought to be given. HOLME SUMNER thought an Address to the Crown was the proper measure, authorising *any expenditure* that might be necessary.—We, for our parts, are for relieving the people, cost what it may. But, at the same time, pray let us make this observation. *Money*, it seems, is wanted in Ireland. Now people do not eat money. No, but the money will buy them something to eat. What, *the food is there*, then, it seems! Pray observe this, reader. Pray observe this, and let the parties get out of the concern if they can. **THE FOOD IS THERE;** but those that have it in their possession will not give it without the money! And we know that the

food is there; for since this famine has been declared in Parliament, *thousands of quarters of corn* have been imported every week from Ireland into England! It is the *money*, then, that the poor creatures want, and that they cannot have, except a part of that is restored which has been taken away from them in *tares*. To this point we always come at last; here is the immediate cause of all the evils that afflict the country.—In going downward, we next find the debt and other consequences of the war; and at the bottom we find the root of the whole, the *want of a real Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament*. The evil is *radical*, that is to say, belonging to the root; and the cure must be radical or there can be no cure at all. We have never yet heard what are the means to make this starvation cease; and we are firmly convinced that it will not cease with this season nor with next season, nor with any season until the interest of the Debt be reduced, and the taxation lowered. There is no scarcity except scarcity of money, amongst those who labour. To talk, therefore, of sending seed potatoes, and to amuse ourselves with other expedients, such as are put forth by the stupid press of London, can only serve to push things on to a state, to get out of which there will be only *one way*.

[Sent with the Author's hope, that it may serve as a piece for recitation, to form part of the entertainments at the *Feast of the Gridiron*.—It is accepted, as such, with many thanks.]

## SOLILOQUY.

To pay, or not to pay, that is the question :—  
 Whether 'tis nobler in ' the House,' to suffer  
 The gibes and tauntings of audacious Cobbett,  
 Or to call up ' the Swiss' of ' the Collective,'  
 And, by repealing, end them?—To vote,—  
 to act,—  
 No more ;—and, by an act, to say we end  
 Distress-petitions, and the thousand bankrupt  
 shocks  
 We yet must hear of,—'tis a consummation  
 Devoutly to be wished. To vote ;—to act ;—  
 To act ! perchance to puff out ; aye, there's  
 the rub ;  
 For in that dread repeal what storms may  
 come,  
 When we have shuffled off this hated bill,  
 Must give us pause : There's the respect,  
 That makes Resumption-bill of so long life :  
 For who would bear the suffering nation's  
 curse,  
 The Landlord's sigh, the Corn-dealer's groan,  
 The Farmer's clam'rous tongue, the law's  
 decay,  
 The prayers of frightened Bankers, and the  
 dismal talea  
 Which we must from the ruin'd borrower hear,  
 When we ourselves might our quietus make  
 With a bare " question ! " Who would office  
 have,  
 To cant and lie about this cursed bill ;

But that the dread of something from repeal,—  
 The paper-money ocean, from whose rocks  
 No Government escapes,—puzzles our pates ;  
 And makes us rather drain the country's  
 blood,  
 Than crush muckworm which we love so  
 well ?  
 Thus Cash-bill does make cowards of us all ;  
 And thus the native hue of this fam'd isle  
 Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of want ;  
 And enterprizes of great pith and moment,  
 With this regard, their currents turn awry,  
 And lose the name of prudence.

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My friends will be glad to hear  
 that my son JAMES is arrived from  
 New York. This ends the trip,  
 which *Sidmouth* gave us in 1817 !  
 James is come almost on purpose  
 to see *Lawyer Scarlett*. It was  
 hardly worth the trouble, my  
 readers will say ; but, the Lawyer  
 may afford us some sport *yet*, if  
 we can get him fairly out in full  
 chase, and clear of all his covers.  
 —I now inform my readers most  
 positively, that all the stories that  
 we have heard about *American*  
*distress*, are pure unmixed *lies*, fa-  
 bricated for the vile purpose of  
 deceiving the burthened and in-  
 sulted people of this Kingdom.

The United States were never more happy, and, perhaps, never so prosperous. There has been no distress; not a single petition has been thought of, either to the Congress or to one of the State Legislatures. There have been no complaints except amongst the vagabonds that had inundated the country with their worthless promissory notes, and base paper-money; and they have complained only because they could not carry on their rogueries any

longer.—All that we have heard upon the subject has been a gross lie from the beginning to the end.—I state this upon the best possible authority; and I call upon the manifold liars and impostors to contradict the statement if they have yet the impudence left to do it.—What must be the state of a country, when, to keep the people quiet, such enormous lies are deemed necessary! Who can ever believe these liars again?